1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls
593 are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
855 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
861 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

582 The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
593 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, the

the */hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the */hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *//gãus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with fore-finger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by treading on the place where a menstruating */gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be */gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the */hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*/u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a */gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the */gari-khois oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *//gãus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisticated as they thought they were, really, for when they would hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood song with these words:

I am tired and old and without people,
I wish I could marry a young girl.

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

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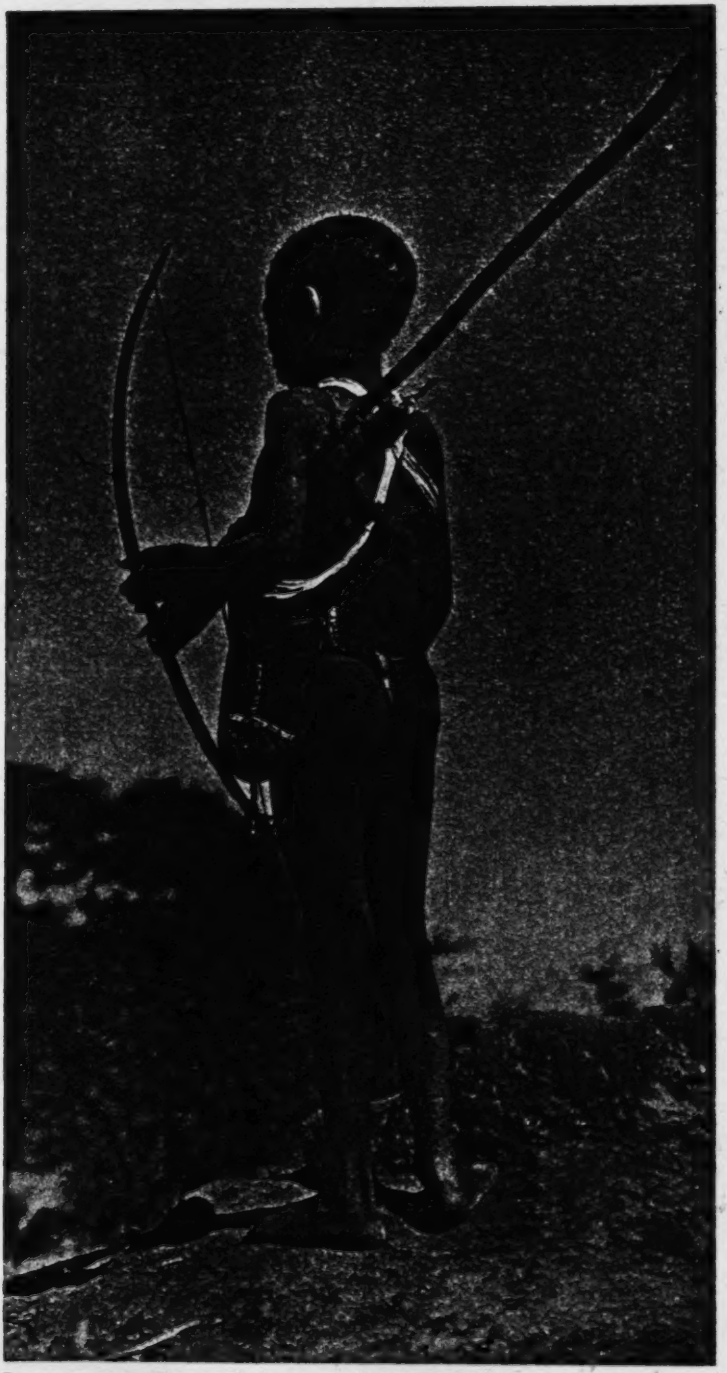

BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

[p. 83]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gauxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gauxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained
[517] and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be
533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf
[852] come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

● [883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

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[224] before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ǂoma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

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[887] Non-productive Camp Members -- People who are under twenty years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.
[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[682] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood, together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down. After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail. Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 422 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 [883] [462] Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

411 The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons. The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some- [237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly [284] several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneimann," 94–6, 99–100.